<u>Overview of the far-right nationalistic discourse in Cyprus</u>

Cyprus is a place that suffered by an ethnotic conflict in the last 70 years/ since the times of British colonisation. The two big communities in the island Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriots disagree on how the post-colonial future should be. Greek Cypriots , being the big majority on the island consider fair that the island will be united with the Greek state whereas Turkish Cypriots considered this prospect as a threat to their existence on the island and promoted the idea of separation.

On both sides the issue was handled by conservative nationalistic forces and the left could not play a definitive part in any further developments despite its size. On the contrary, the left was divided and trapped in nationalistic visions of each side's nation.

The Cyprus republic was founded in 1960 as a compromise. Both ethnic communities had seen Cyprus republic as a transitional stage to reach their aspirations. The constitution was only applied as is for three years and Turkish Cypriots withdrew from the state structures. After that a ten years intercommunity conflict followed.

Concerning the Turkish Cypriot community TMT a paramilitary organisation takes over since 1957 political and military control and suppresses or murders any Turkish Cypriots who disagree or insist in keeping political relationships with Greek Cypriots (mainly left wingers). This organisation was a branch of the grey wolves' organisation situated in turkey and was composed by the special forces of the Turkish army force.

TMT was founded in 1957 as an answer to the Greek Cypriot paramilitary organisation EOKA who took over under the guidance of the Greek Orthodox Church. The leader of EOKA was a well-known anti-Communist coronel of the Greek army, Georgios Grivas . EOKA aim was the incorporation of Cyprus to Greece which was pursued by a militia war in 1955 – 1959. So in Cyprus we have this special phenomenon that the anti-colonial armed war is conducted by a right wing nationalistic anti-Communist organisation, a fact that contributes to the following events.

Grivas leaves Cyprus at 1960 but returns at 1964 when it was clear the issue would be solved with military measures. He organizes the army with a command from the now president Archbishop Makarios and surrounds the Turkish Cypriot enclaves that were formed in certain areas of Cyprus to contain Turkish Cypriot people. In 1967 Grivas will leave Cyprus after a threat by turkey that if he and a part of the Greek military situated in Cyprus do not leave, turkey will invade Cyprus.

In 1971 he returns to Cyprus and secretly founds EOKA B with an aim to take down the Makarios government to stick to the unification with Greece plan which, as they believed, Makarios went astray from. Other paramilitary organizations are also active on this period that align with Makarios or contradict him according to their leaders' interests, but all together fight against Turkish Cypriots.

In 1974 the Greek military junta using the Greek army that was situated in Cyprus and the republic of Cyprus army pursued a coop against the Makarovs government which would result to a situation closer to the NATO interests that were to divide the island between the two NATO- members- mother-countries and stop war acts between them.

The coop failed to kill Makarios. A week after, the Turkish army invades Cyprus and takes over 37% of its ground.

Since then the situation remains the same despite negotiations that have been taking place in order for a solution-reunification formula to be found. To explain the current situation further, Turkish Cypriots live at the north in a state that is recognised only by turkey and Greek Cypriots live on the south part which is universally recognised as the Republic of Cyprus.

The Turkish invasion in 1974 was a big loss for the Greek-Cypriot but also for the general geek nationalism. Despite that, no essential constructive criticism was ever present. On the contrary, all responsibility was attributed to the anti- makarios part of right wingers especially EOKA B and the Greek Junta. Same people that contributed to happenings continued to keep high government positions and applied a non-formal silence around happenings that led to the coop and Turkish invasion. Despite the person who was assigned as a president by the junta none else went in trial concerning the coop.

Politically "homeless" EOKA B members find a roof at the newly founded liberal party DHSY, which manages to become the largest right wing party whereas the Makarios supporter part founded DIKO and social-democrats EDEK.

Greek – Cypriot nationalism changes discourse after 1974. Greek Cypriots are presented as victims of the Turkish expansionism, a discourse that is passed through all following generations through schools, the army and the dominant political speech.

Although there is no independent nationalistic carrier this part is taken over by the state. The proposal is a national unity against the Turkish occupancy. The fact that the republic of Cyprus is an internationally recognised state against the pseudo-state at the north which is only recognised by turkey is used to legalize any nationalistic delusion in people's minds.

In the 90s, militarism is again very prevalent. Purchases of weaponry/armed systems and big military drills are prevalent.

After 20 years of absence, cores of nationalist intellectuals begin to arise in Cyprus.

In this climate and in view of Cyprus joining the EU, in 2004 a referendum takes place in order to solve the Cyprus problem based on a draft of the Secretary General of the United Nations, which is rejected by the Greek Cypriots.

During that time Golden Dawn (known neo-Nazi organization in Greece) sets its branch on the island and arrays in Liberty Square, in one of its first organized public appearances. Along with Golden Dawn Cyprus gradually appear various other ensembles and groups coiled around websites with limited but visible activity, which mostly included incidents against migrants and sharing of flyers with maximalist positions over the Cyprus Issue.

In 2008 Golden Dawn Cyprus changes its name to ELAM (National Popular Party), since it was understood that the continuation of the Cypriot right-wing as an annex of Golden Dawn would deprive legality within Cypriot Extreme Right. Up to date E.LA.M. Already counts four election fights, reaching 2.69 in the last European parliament elections, a rate that allows them to participate in the next national parliament.

Around 2011, on the occasion of the parliamentary elections its leader and leadership appeared publicly (from then on articles from E.LA.M. are not signed only by name but also by status -eg Sector Officer- and photographs of their leader without hiding his face are published within interviews

to the media). Gradually E.LA.M. Embodies, absorbs or displace other offroots of the far right and accomplishes to establish itself as the main franchise holder of the Golden Dawn in Cyprus.

Within the following period between 2008-2013, E.LA.M. has also matured ideologically, meaning that its key positions cover now nine thematic – Cyprus Issue, defence, immigration, economy, education, social policy, European Union, health and the environment. This finding, however, should not distract us from the fact that above all E.LA.M. Remains an extreme nationalist party, which incorporates all the morphological features of militarism and authoritarianism, defending "law and order" and resistance to modernity. E.LA.M.'s nationalism combines elements of political nationalism (that is closely associated with the assertion of ethnic domination) and ethnic nationalism (that has racial overtones). Simultaneously, E.LA.M.'s nationalism (as well as Golden Dawn's) differs from cultural nationalism, since origin plays a key role. It is no coincidence that hardly ever references or tributes to Cypriot or Greek folklore and tradition are never made from E.LA.M.

A central feature of this extreme and two-level nationalism is the distortion of historical facts, through the reproduction of myths and inventions. The not-so-flattering views of some of the so-called heroes of the Greek revolution of 1821 are hushed, intercommunal conflict of 1963-64 are named "tourkoantarsia-turkish mutiny", terrorist actions of parts of EOKA against the left are rejected, decolonization is attributed to the victory of EOKA against the British on ground and the coup of July 15 is called movement. Moreover, the historical narrative involves praise adorning in graphic and intense way of the main characters of its narratives, like George Grivas.

ELAM is identified with Golden Dawn and mimics the structure and means of action. Nonetheless it could not become as great as its brother because the military fail in 1974 is still a current discourse and the state is still the main carrier or action concerning national issues.

We should say though that this is questioned in the last years due to the economic crisis and the weakness of the state to handle it.

ELAM besides its size, has managed to enter its politics in the public's political agenda.

E.LA.M.'s particularity in relation to the majority of the extreme right in Europe, is that even though it works identically to Golden Dawn, imitating it in forms of organization and ways of action, it could not grow as its brother figure because the military defeat of 1974 still lies over the shoulders of paramilitaries and the state took over thereafter the monopoly of the far right action, an action that was therefore legalized to the conscious of the public.

However, despite its size it manages to put his political agenda in the public sphere.

The "national issue" is quite naturally considered from ELAM as a central point and all other matters filters through this prism.

Thus, the combination of the small size of the island, the Greek Cypriot refugees, the settlers who came from Turkey after 1974 are used continuously to indicate the particularly growing threats to the so-called "demographic change", "national eradication" and "racial mixing".

Islamophobia also passes through the prism of the conflict with the Turkish Cypriots since it considers all Muslim immigrants from Turkey placed there intended to turkify Cyprus (making a paradoxical equate every Muslim as Turkish)

Elam does not believe that only the nation is under threat, but also Western civilization, Europe and Christian values. So it is against Turkey and other non-European countries joining the EU. It says it does not agree with the form the EU has taken but is not an anti-European party in the same manner as other extreme right parties in Europe are. Instead it considers the EU and European institutions a useful ally against Turkey.

Despite the participation in the elections, ELAM has a strong presence in the streets by actively participating in national celebrations and heroes ceremonies. It is also very active in sports (mainly football) clubs managing to influence some of them. It is also present in schools from where most members are derived from as well as universities

ELAM was involved in beatings of immigrants, Turkish Cypriots and comrades. At the beginning attacks left them more exposed but as time went by they became more methodical and invisible.

This somewhat extensive historical reference was needed to make us able to perceive the specificity of the postcolonial era that Cyprus is still going through. We believe that a defeat of the far right will only come from a bottom up movement of Greek and Turkish Cypriots which will put an end to the islands division. Attempts and actions towards this direction are happening for years by the radical left and the anti-authoritative groups without any significant success.

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